## BEFORE THE OFFICE OF THE INSURANCE COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

In the Matter of the Application regarding the Conversion and Acquisition of Control of Premera Blue Cross and its Affiliates. No. G 02-45

PRE-FILED TESTIMONY OF DIANE SOSNE, RN

1. My name is Diane Sosne and I am the President of the Service Employees
International Union (SEIU) District 1199NW. The Service Employees International Union
(SEIU) has been active in the area of conversions of non-profit hospitals and health plans to forprofit status in other states, including California and Missouri, and SEIU has also been active in
limiting the privatization of public hospitals. As a labor union representing a wide range of
workers—from low-wage janitors and home care workers, to higher wage registered nurses and
other professionals—SEIU advocates for the provision of high-quality, accessible, cost-effective
health care. SEIU is a member of the Premera Watch Coalition and is opposed to Premera's forprofit conversion.

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- 2. SEIU Washington State Council represents the interests of SEIU local unions representing nearly 60,000 workers across Washington State. Most of SEIU's members work in healthcare. Thirty thousand are low-wage workers in long-term care services including homecare and nursing homes. Sixteen thousand work in acute care hospitals, home health and mental health. Six thousand are registered nurses. Over 10,000 are in the public sector including state and school employees. SEIU also represents building services workers and security guards in Washington.
- 3. SEIU Washington State Council has long been involved in the protection of the public health and public assets involved in health care conversions. In 1997, SEIU Washington State Council was one of the prime supporters of Senate Bill 5227, which governed the conversion of hospitals from nonprofit to for-profit status. State Representative Eileen Cody, a SEIU member, sponsored the companion bill in the House, HB 1336. The legislation passed unanimously in the Senate and overwhelmingly in the house, and was enacted into law, due in significant part to SEIU's advocacy on this issue. Today, Washington's Hospital Conversion law stands as one of the most comprehensive in the country. SEIU Washington State Council has also supported efforts to enact Health Care Conversion legislation.
- 4. SEIU Washington State Council's members include Premera subscribers, enrollees, and contract holders, such as individuals who are enrolled in Premera through Medicaid, the Basic Health Plan, the individual insurance market and through the benefits provided to public employees. Some of SEIU Washington State Council's members, such as nurses and home health care workers, may also be contracting providers with Premera.

- 5. SEIU is opposed to the conversion because many SEIU members, including Premera subscribers, enrollees and contract holders, will be harmed if the transaction is approved. A majority of the twenty-eight thousand homecare workers represented by SEIU, and the health care consumers that they serve, depend on public programs like the Basic Health Plan and Medicaid Managed Care. These programs contract with Premera as well as other health plans; but in some parts of Washington State, Premera is the only plan available. Premera's recent announcement that it will pull out of serving Medicaid and Basic Health consumers will make heath care access and choice for many SEIU's members more difficult and reflects Premera's abandonment of its historic mission in Eastern Washington to serving low-wage workers and their families.
- 6. SEIU Washington State Council's members who are state employees through the Public Employees Benefits Board also rely heavily on Premera to provide for their healthcare, and in some parts of the state Premera is the only plan available to them. SEIU is concerned that the proposed conversion will also impact their access to health care.
- 7. As providers of healthcare, SEIU members experience the effects of the rising costs of healthcare and the growing number of uninsured and underinsured in their work. The for-profit Premera's efforts to produce profits for its shareholders may impact the contract rates paid to SEIU members that provide care to Premera enrollees. SEIU is opposed to the conversion because the conversion will impact the rates paid to its members who are Premera providers. We are already seeing evidence of for-profit Premera's plan to ratchet down rates to providers in its contract dispute with Providence's Eastern Washington Hospitals.

- 8. SEIU is also opposed to the conversion of Premera to "for-profit" because the transaction could have serious implications on market conditions. The conversion could drive up prices and possibly limit access to healthcare for SEIU members, their families, communities, and their patients. It also could have implications for hospitals where SEIU members work in terms of reduced reimbursement for costs and therefore the amount and quality of services provided.
- 9. SEIU is also opposed to the conversion because Premera proposes to continue to control the nonprofit funds it will set aside in two foundations. SEIU's members are beneficiaries of the nonprofit assets held by Premera Blue Cross. Because of their direct, daily involvement in the health system, particularly as it serves low-income and disabled individuals, SEIU believes that if the conversion is approved, the funds must be set aside in foundations that are completely independent from Premera and the interests of health insurers.
- 10. SEIU is also opposed to the proposed conversion because of our firm belief that for-profit health care wastes precious health care resources on administration and excessive executive compensation. The Premera conversion raises troubling issues of how patient care dollars will be used in our state. American health care is expensive and inefficient and further concentration of decision-making power for health care in the hands of for-profit companies will make the problem worse. Too much money is spent on expensive salaries for administrators and executives and not enough resources are directed to direct patient care. This problem is significantly worse in the for-profit sector than in the non-profit sector. Premera's own report on its plan for executive compensation post-conversion reflects this problem.

- 11. For-profit conversions and health care corporations tend to stop serving the interests of their patients and their communities, and instead serve the narrow interests of their top executives. For example, Tenet CEO, through salary, bonuses and stock options, netted more than \$100 million in the calendar year of 2002. HealthSouth's CEO owned several large homes, made millions of dollars, and was ferried around the country by flying on HealthSouth's fleet of corporate jets. The caregivers of our union feel that this type of outrageous waste and corruption is simply unacceptable in a health system that's struggling with a shortage of health workers and can't provide health care to all working people.
- 12. To be sure, Premera is not as large a corporation as either Tenet or HealthSouth. However, we believe it would be wrong to ignore the cautionary tales of Tenet and HealthSouth. The reality of for-profit health care is that it is far too easy for the executives of a for-profit health care provider to put the bottom line above quality patient care. Their first responsibility is to maximize profits.
- 13. SEIU believes that's the wrong model for health care. We should be building a system that holds down costs, focuses on maintaining the quality of patient care, and expands access to affordable care for everyone.

I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the State of Washington that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated this \_\_ day of March 2004, in Chicago, Illinois.

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